

Comintern 7th World Congress Part 6: The Results of Socialist Construction in the USSR

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1935 London: Modern Books
46p.

The Results of Socialist Construction in the U.S.S.R.

Report Delivered by D. Z. MANUILSKY

August 17, 1935

On Comrade Manuilsky's appearance on the rostrum the whole Congress rises and welcomes him with loud applause and shouts of greeting. Comrade Manuilsky cries out: "Long live Comrade Stalin!" Renewed applause. The delegates sing the *Internationale*, which is followed by a fresh outburst of loud and prolonged applause.

I. THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

In the period between the Sixth and Seventh Congresses of the Communist International a very great event took place in the lives of the nations—the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*) This is the second great victory of the international working class over world capitalism since the Great October Socialist Revolution, and it ushers in a new era in the history of mankind.

Strengthening the stronghold of the world proletarian revolution economically and politically, the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. opens a new phase in the development of our country; it marks another great change in the relation of forces in the world arena to the advantage of socialism and to the disadvantage of capitalism, and it marks the beginning of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution. Won by the workers and collective farmers of our country under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., of its Leninist Central Committee, and of our great Stalin, with the active support of the proletariat of the whole world, it signifies the victory of the Communist International which was born as a result of the October Revolution, the victory of its programme, policy and tactics.

The significance of this victory of the Communist International is all the greater and more edifying for the international working class for the reason that in this period the world working class movement in a number of capitalist countries (Germany, Austria and others), where the Social-Democratic Parties and the reformist

trade unions played the leading role in the movement, suffered defeats which were the defeats of the reformist policy and the capitulatory tactics of the Social-Democratic Parties, defeats of the Second International. The world historical significance of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. which was achieved in the period when an economic crisis unprecedented for its acuteness and duration prevails in the capitalist countries, lies in the fact that it throws a vivid light on the two paths of development of the international proletarian movement—the path of the Communist International and the path of the Second International. The path of the Communist International led by way of the proletarian revolution to the victory of socialism in one-sixth of the territory of the globe and to the further strengthening of the position of the international proletarian revolution to an enormous degree, while the path of the Second International, the path of reformism, is leading to defeats of the workers and the victory of fascism. A comparison of these two results is leading, and is bound to lead, to a revolution in the minds of the proletariat of all capitalist countries, and is causing a profound change and re-grouping in its ranks.

But the significance of the victory of socialism in our country is not confined to the changes in the world working class movement. It is far wider and more profound. As a result of its socialist successes our country is beginning to set the peoples in motion. The comparison of our past with our present is beginning to convince vast masses of people of the correctness of the path we have taken, of the correctness of Bolshevism and the path of the Communist International.

What was our country before the revolution?

We were the most exploited country, a country with the most disfranchised and downtrodden working class in Europe, with the most poverty-stricken, wretched and dispossessed peasantry, afflicted with the disasters of famine. We were a country whose agriculture was the most backward and extensive, a country of chronic droughts and harvest failures, a country of the wooden plough, the mattock and the Volga boatmen. Ours was a country stricken by typhus and cholera epidemics, degeneration, alcoholism and frightful mortality, an uncultured, illiterate and superstitious country, a prey to the opium of religion and the obscurantism of the priests. In order to maintain their rotten rule, the ruling classes of our country artificially fostered national enmity, invented legends of ritual murder, organised pogroms

against the Jews and massacres of Armenians and Tartars. Tsarism, like a blood-stained octopus, fastened its tentacles on the nations, rent whole nations to pieces and with ruthless brutality crushed the manifestations of national life of the Ukrainians, White Russians, Georgians, Armenians, Turks, Uzbeks, Cossacks, and others. A revolutionary movement was seething and growing in the country and acquired extraordinary strength when the proletariat, led by the Party of the Bolsheviks, assumed the lead of the tormented people. But the dull and incompetent rulers persecuted the revolutionary people and drove the country into an abyss. They declared that the backwardness and lack of culture of the country were the peculiarities of the Russian "national spirit," and boastfully threatened in the wars waged by tsarism, to "plant the cross on St. Sophia" and to knock the enemy "into a cocked hat." And the workers and peasants of our formerly unhappy country paid dearly for this ignorant boastfulness. Old Russia was beaten by everybody who wanted to.

"She was beaten by the Mongol Khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal barons. She was beaten by the Polish and Lithuanian 'Squires.' She was beaten by the Anglo-French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her for her backwardness, for military backwardness, for cultural backwardness, for governmental backwardness, for industrial backwardness, for agricultural backwardness."*

Russia was beaten in the imperialist war of 1914-18. She emerged from this war bleeding, maimed and bankrupt. But the imperialist Powers forced a new war on the revolutionary people, which had overthrown not only tsarism, but also capitalism. Our country was torn to pieces by the landlords and capitalists who had been driven out by the Revolution. She was sold wholesale and retail.

She was partitioned from her border regions—on the West, the South, the North and the East. And from this catastrophe to which the landlords, industrialists and bankers had brought our country, she was saved by the proletarian revolution. (*Applause.*) The Revolution extricated her from the war, saved her from political disintegration and economic destruction; it saved her

* Stalin, "The Tasks of Business Managers," *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 365.

from the plunder of pirates who were stronger than tsarism; it emancipated her from economic slavery to foreign capital; it protected her from the world crisis, which has flung peoples and states into the abyss, and from the fascist reaction that is raging in the capitalist world. At a speed unprecedented in the history of humanity, it is developing her productive forces and replacing the mattock, the wooden plough and the scythe with tractors and harvester combines; it is transforming "the prisoners of starvation, the wretched of the earth," into the masters of their country and the creators of a new and magnificent life; it is steadily raising the standard of living of the masses; it is implanting a new and advanced socialist culture; it is establishing fraternal cohabitation between the peoples. It has erected a powerful workers' state; it has created a new social and economic system, in which the new socialist man is being formed; and it has brought into being that of which the finest minds of mankind have dreamed—socialism.

And it is not only our Party that to-day appears before the Seventh Congress of the Communist International with these achievements; it is our young socialist country, which, by the will of the Party of Lenin and Stalin has been put to serve the interests of the world proletarian revolution (*loud applause*), that is reporting to the toilers of the whole world how it has fulfilled its international duty to them. (*Loud applause.*) It is reporting to-day to the billion and a half people who are oppressed and enslaved by imperialism how, led to its doom by capitalism, it was resurrected by socialism. By its example it is showing the path of salvation to the exploited classes, to the colonies downtrodden by imperialism, to the oppressed nations, to the small states which are enslaved economically and politically, to the nations defeated in the imperialist wars and to the millions who are being crushed in the vice of the crisis. Its experience serves as a call to them to put an end to the system which has become a misfortune for the world and the curse of humanity.

And yet, only eighteen years separate us from our country's frightful past! What do these years signify when compared with the centuries that were required to change economic systems and political forms in the history of the development of mankind? But even of these eighteen years, ten years were required merely for the restoration of the pre-war level of production.

In 1927-28 we had only just completed the restoration of our national economy, which had been destroyed by imperialist war

and civil war, and exceeded the pre-war level of production. At that time our socialist industry consisted of a few large enterprises, but mainly of small factories and mills, with old, worn-out machinery and suffering from a dearth of technical forces. There were still five social and economic systems in the country, from the most advanced—the socialist system—to the patriarchal system. In 1928 the socialist sector represented 44 per cent. of the whole of the national economy, and although it was steadily increasing, the further progress of our socialist development was hampered by the backwardness of agriculture. The predominant feature of the countryside was scattered, peasant husbandry, producing little for the market, a husbandry which was giving rise to the reviving capitalist elements which were striving to undermine the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. The kulaks were raising their heads and were striving to thwart socialist construction by sabotaging grain deliveries. We were obliged to wage a stern fight for grain. The grain problem became the burning political problem. The supply of foodstuffs to the industrial workers was being menaced and, consequently, socialist construction itself was being menaced. The capitalist elements in the country formed a social support for the hostile imperialist encirclement.

Lenin's question: "Who will win?" faced the Party and the whole country in all its immensity.

We had to choose between two paths of development, either *retreat*, which would lead to capitalist restoration, or an *offensive*, which led, and was bound to lead, to the victory of socialism.

Having trained, reared and educated our Party in the course of decades, Lenin and Stalin had prepared it for this decisive choice. Not long before this, the Party, headed by Comrade Stalin, had repelled the fierce attacks of Trotsky and the Zinoviev-Trotsky bloc against the Leninist-Stalinist thesis of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. (*Applause.*) In effect, the Party was obliged to suppress the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie, which did not desire and feared the development of the socialist revolution. In 1928 the Right opportunists, who were the mouth-piece of the kulak element, started an attack against the Party. They opposed the rapid tempo of industrialisation and insisted on our importing from abroad consumers' goods instead of machinery and machine tools for the new factories; they fought against the expansion of State farm and collective farm construction and proposed that the Party should base itself entirely on individual

peasant farming; they were opposed to the offensive against the capitalist elements and asserted that the kulaks would peacefully grow into socialism; and they tried to frighten the Party and the working class by declaring that without kulaks there would be no grain.

It was the genius of Stalin, the genius of the working class, that led the country.

And the Party made its choice, a choice which determined the destiny of the development of our country and the future of the world proletarian revolution.

The Party chose the path of a broad offensive along the whole front against the capitalist elements. This was the path of the socialist reconstruction of the national economy, the path of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture, the path of the liquidation of the kulaks as a class, the path of tearing out the roots of capitalism in the country.

The task was not an easy one.

The alternative that then confronted us was, as Comrade Stalin recently described it in a retrospective glance at the past we had traversed:

"... Either we solve this problem in the shortest possible time and consolidate socialism in our country, or we do not solve it, in which case our country—technically weak and culturally unenlightened—would lose its independence and become a stake in the game of the imperialist Powers."*

The solution of this problem was accompanied by the tremendous difficulties of the reconstruction period, the difficulties of overcoming the technical and economic backwardness of the country, the difficulties of reconstructing the social and economic relations in the rural districts, the difficulties of suppressing the sabotage and the wrecking activities of hostile elements, the difficulties created by the capitalist encirclement, difficulties behind which the class enemy invariably lurked. And the stronger the pressure of the socialist offensive, the more bitter became the resistance of the class enemy. The whole capitalist world waited with bated breath for the outcome of the struggle, the emigré

groups began to stir and the Industrial Party crept on to the stage. The military General Staffs began to prepare for intervention, which they fixed for the year 1930. But nothing could break the determination of the Bolsheviks.

The general line of the Party for a broad offensive along the whole front was concretely expressed in the Five-Year Plan, by means of which the first country with a proletarian dictatorship laid the basis for the solution of a great strategical problem—to overtake and surpass the technically and economically advanced capitalist countries. (*Applause.*) And here began that heroic phase of great socialist construction which furiously enraged our enemies, roused the admiration of our friends and the astonishment of the whole world.

The U.S.S.R. is astounding the whole world by the speed of its socialist construction. The rate of increase in industrial output during the period of the First Five-Year Plan amounted on an average to 22 per cent. per annum. In 1934 it amounted to 18.3 per cent., and in 1935 (according to plan) it should amount to 17 per cent. Never in history has any capitalist country known such rates of development. In a period of four years we increased the output of pig-iron from five million tons to ten million tons per annum, whereas the U.S.A. required fifteen years to traverse the same distance and Great Britain required thirty-six years. The proportion of the output of our machine-building industry to world output in 1928 was 4.2 per cent.; in 1937 it will be 37.5 per cent. (*Applause.*) In 1928 we held fifth place in the world and fourth place in Europe in industrial output; we now occupy second place in the world, after the U.S.A. (*applause*), and first place in Europe. Please note, comrades, that I am referring not to present-day Europe, not to crisis Europe, but to the Europe of 1929. (*Applause.*) In the output of oil, pig-iron, steel, machinery and tractors, we have taken first place among the European countries. (*Applause.*) We are beginning to develop our own machine-tool industry, the production of high-grade steels, motors, turbines and generators; we are developing our own chemical industry and our own aviation industry; and we are mastering the production of the most complex machinery of various kinds. Our country is being covered with the scaffolding of construction projects; mountains are being removed, tunnels cut, railway embankments erected, canals dug, dams constructed, and factories built which are marvels of modern technique; new industrial regions, new coal and metal centres are being created and the national republics are being industrialised. And all this

* Stalin, "Address to Graduates from the Red Army Academies," May 4, 1935. In the Symposium *Soviet Union*, 1935, p. 3.

is being done at a time when in the capitalist countries industrial and commercial life is dying down, the smoke stacks of existing factories are ceasing to belch forth smoke, blast furnaces are being blown out one after another, the traffic in ports is coming to a standstill, a deathly silence is falling on many working class quarters and millions of people are being condemned to enforced idleness. In the U.S.S.R., however, a tremendous wave of popular enthusiasm is sweeping all obstacles from its path and transforming the country. (*Applause.*)

Comrades, you are witnessing this transformation of the country. You know that the U.S.S.R. has increased its industrial output almost fivefold compared with 1913 and threefold compared with 1928, and that the socialist sector now embraces 96 per cent. of the whole economic life of our country. But what lies behind this tempo, behind the Dnieperstroys, the Magnitogorsks, the Turk-Sibs and the White Sea Canals; what lies behind the construction and the growth of those 40,000 enterprises of large-scale industry and those 300,000 enterprises of small-scale industry, which our socialist country possesses to-day? The tremendous labour of our people, whom this great construction work has re-educated in a socialist way, remoulded in a class way and resurrected materially and culturally; labour, in the course of which our Party, our workers' organisations, proletarian social life, has converted raw, rustic material into enthusiastic shock workers, heroes of labour, into concrete-layers who have beaten world records, and blast furnace operators who have exceeded the highest co-efficient of effective utilisation of furnaces.

Our construction work did not proceed smoothly, as may have appeared from a distance. We needed metal for our construction work, but there was no metal; we needed building material, but there was an extreme dearth of building material; this material and vast masses of people had to be transported to new places, but the transport system was congested; we had to feed, shoe and clothe the builders and workers, and provide them with at least elementary housing conditions, but resources and supplies were inadequate; we needed skilled workers, but where were they to come from all at once? There were no engineers, no technicians, not the most elementary industrial culture. We were suffering from the old Russian slovenliness inherited from the old regime, the routine and bureaucracy of centuries. And the class enemy took advantage of every slip made by our young and inexperienced cadres; they drew up inflated estimates, muddled plans, submitted

obviously unsuitable projects, spoiled machines, organised fires and explosions and put expensive equipment out of commission.

During these years the muscles and nerves of the country were stretched like taut wire. We lived only for our construction projects. When we thought, we thought in the figures of these construction projects; when we spoke, we spoke only of them; at our meetings we argued and disputed only about them. When we slept we dreamed only of them. Everything the material resources of the country strained to the utmost, mobilised human will, organised human energy, Bolshevik persistence and purpose—was all subordinated to one aim: the fulfilment of the plan of great works the Party and the country had set themselves. It was this aim that dictated the modest standard of living for our people. The millions of members of our Bolshevik Party fed badly and slept badly in those days. Our best people—Dzerzhinsky, Kuibyshev—wore themselves out in sleepless nights on the work of economic calculations.

Not all were able to hold out in this socialist offensive, which eclipsed the campaigns of all times and of all peoples. All who were timid, egoistical, vile and rotten fell away; they complained, whimpered, spread distrust, prophesied ruin and joined forces with world capital in its rabid hatred of the victory of socialism. The abominable, disgusting and vile political degenerates of the Zinoviev and Trotsky bloc murdered our friend, the favourite of our Party, the organiser of the victories in Baku, Leningrad and Khibin, Sergei Mironovich Kirov. (*The delegates rise in honour of the memory of S. M. Kirov.*)

But the mighty avalanche started by the iron and inflexible will of Stalin swept on in its course. It overwhelmed the last stronghold of capitalism in our country by reconstructing agriculture on the basis of collectivisation. In place of 25,000,000 individual peasant farms it created 250,000 collective farms, 5,000 State farms, and over 4,000 machine and tractor stations, entailing an expense to the State of over 9,000,000,000 rubles. In place of the wooden plough and the winter-starved nag, there are now operating 300,000 tractors, about 50,000 harvester combines and 35,000 motor trucks. In respect of the use of tractors our agriculture occupies first place in the world. There is now twice as much land per collective farm household as there was per poor peasant or middle peasant household when they bore an individual character. (*Applause.*) In 1934 our collective farmers supplied 1,000,000,000 poods more grain for the market than when they

constituted individual poor and middle peasant farms. The former situation when the rate of growth of our agriculture lagged behind that of industry is being eliminated. In the period from 1926 to 1929 the increase of agricultural production amounted on an average to 2.7 per cent. per annum; in the first two years of the Second Five-Year Plan it was 6.5 per cent., and in 1935 it should exceed 16 per cent. (*Applause.*) These successes are visible to millions of people, and you, comrades, perceive them all the more since you come from countries where the condition of the peasantry is desperate, where the indebtedness of the peasantry in Germany, for instance, amounts to 14,000,000,000 marks, where the indebtedness of the farmers in the United States, for instance, is equivalent to 42 per cent. of the total value of their farms, where during the past few years nearly half a million American farms have been sold under the hammer, where the debt of the Japanese peasant is more than five times as large as the gross yield of agriculture, which means that the Japanese peasant and his family must refrain from eating, drinking and clothing themselves for a period of five years in order to escape this servitude.

Our victory over the capitalist elements did not come easily. We were obliged to break a century-old system in the countryside, overcome prejudices and eradicate "the frightful habits of millions." The class war in the countryside became extremely acute. Days and nights were spent in passionate discussion of the question whether to form a collective farm or not. The poor peasant argued until he was hoarse on behalf of the advantages of collective farming. The middle peasant wavered: in the evening he would decide to join the collective farm, but next day he would take back his horse and his implements. The kulaks disturbed the people, incited them to kill off their cattle and horses, to steal public property and to burn grain. They dug up their sawn-off rifles which they had kept concealed since the time of the war. Our country passed through all these difficulties, led from victory to victory by the Party of Lenin. And the results of this offensive against the capitalist elements are evident to-day. (*Applause.*)

In 1928 we were only just starting to fulfil the First Five-Year Plan. We not only succeeded in fulfilling that plan in four years, we are now successfully fulfilling the Second Five-Year Plan. In 1928 the world bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic agents calculated on putting an end to Socialism and restoring capitalism by the hand of the peasants. As a matter of fact, the horny hands of the peasants, guided by the working class, put an end to capitalism

in the countryside and thus ensured the victory of Socialism. In 1928 we were obliged to introduce bread ration cards. To-day the bread cards are abolished, to-day the bread problem in our country is solved. In 1928 the kulak had raised his head and wanted to smash Socialism; to-day Socialism has smashed the kulak. In 1928 the bourgeoisie put their stake on the capitalist degeneration of the U.S.S.R., on an alliance between world capital and the capitalist elements within our country. To-day, our country is not threatened with capitalist degeneration; but capitalist degeneration is corroding the world in which the bourgeoisie still holds sway. To-day victorious Socialism is forming an ever-closer union with the world labour movement. To-day it is not the twilight of Socialism and the dawn of capitalism that have begun, as the whiteguard, Trotsky, asserted, but the dawn of Socialism and the twilight of capitalism, as our Party asserted. (*Applause.*) In 1928 Lenin's question: "Who will win?" had not been settled within our country. To-day it is settled finally and irrevocably in favour of Socialism. In 1928 we were suffering from the difficulties of the reconstruction period. To-day we have overcome these difficulties; there remain the difficulties connected with overcoming the survivals of capitalism in economy and in the minds of men, and with the settlement of the question "Who will win?" in the international arena. (*Applause.*)

In the course of a severe class struggle, the toilers of the U.S.S.R., led by the Party of Lenin, headed by Comrade Stalin, have transformed the U.S.S.R. from a weak, backward, uncultured, agrarian country with five social and economic systems, from a country technically and economically dependent on the capitalist countries and militarily vulnerable, into a highly industrialised country which is capable of producing all modern complex machinery and is independent of the whims of foreign capital, into a country with an advanced collective agriculture and where the socialist system has undivided sway; into a country whose power of defence is ensured to the utmost. (*Applause.*)

Thereby we have created the indestructible foundation of Socialism. And now, as a result of the *new technical basis* we have laid for our national economy and the new social forms, the *socialist forms* we have created for it, we are opening for our country the broadest prospects for its continued socialist development. Its advance along socialist rails will no longer be hindered either by a low technical and economic level of productive forces or by the system of private, small-scale, peasant farming. The

planned socialist economy of our country will no longer, as formerly, be hindered by elements of spontaneity of the survivals of capitalist economy. To-day man and his labour have been liberated from these conditions, which in the past set a limit to our development. To-day it is man, his indomitable will and his organised labour, which decide everything. "The feasibility of our programme lies in living people"—said Comrade Stalin. And what has been done, for instance, in the sphere of railway transport by Comrade Kaganovich, who by his Bolshevik persistence refuted the limits set by the old science, is an excellent illustration of the forces latent in the socialist system and of what can be achieved by the Bolsheviks who are guiding socialist construction. (Applause.)

II. THE NEW PHASE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAND OF SOCIALISM

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. created the conditions for such a growth of the material well-being of the masses and for such a rise of their cultural level as no capitalist country in the world ever dreamed of. Only now can we place *the care for the human being in the centre of our thoughts and efforts in all its greatness*. Man is not the manure of history, as fascism proclaims; the masses of humanity are not the object of the stick of the fascist drill sergeant who imagines that he is the Nietzschean superman; he is not a slave building the Egyptian pyramids; he is not an adjunct of the capitalist machine for the purpose of providing a life of ease for a handful of parasites; he is not an object of slavish, feudal, capitalist exploitation. Man is the creator of Socialism, the creator of a new social system. For the first time in history man has been put in his proper place. (Applause.) He is the smith forging his own destiny and his own history, he is the master of the Socialist machine. *Socialism exists for him; he himself is the great goal of Socialism.*

In his speech at the Seventeenth Congress of our Party, Comrade Stalin said:

"There would have been no use overthrowing capitalism in October, 1917, and building Socialism for a number of years if we were not going to secure a life of plenty for our people. Socialism means, not poverty and privation, but the abolition of poverty and privation, the organisation of a well-to-do and cultured life for all members of society." To create for the men, women and children of the land of

Soviets a well-to-do, cultured, healthy, joyous and happy life—this is what the whole of our Party and our whole country is now persistently working to achieve. In a Socialist country the creation of a well-to-do, cultured and happy life is not the work of a single person. In our country happiness is not based on the shifting sands of chance or luck, it is not the lot of the most crafty, the most insolent and shameless persons elbowing everyone out of their way. We are solving the problem of the happiness of the Socialist man by our collective efforts. In our country, tens of millions of men and women have joined their personal destiny with the successes of Socialism. And only such an enormous collective effort is capable of solving this problem.

To-day we have many achievements to record in regard to radically improving the material and cultural level of the toiling masses. I am not speaking of reforms which the proletariat compel the capitalists to concede by fierce revolutionary struggles, only to have them taken away again during the first industrial depression, as was the case during the world economic crisis. I speak of the changes that serve as a starting point for the further improvement of the conditions of the masses, which is possible only as a result of the victory of Socialism. Our country knows not unemployment, and will not know it. (Applause.) Since 1928 the number of factory and office workers in our country has increased two-and-a-half-fold, the pay-roll has increased over five-fold, whereas in capitalist countries wages have dropped from 40 to 50 per cent.

Our expenditure on social insurance rose from 1,050,000,000 rubles in 1928 to over six billion rubles in 1935 (applause), whereas in capitalist countries social insurance is being abolished, and the bourgeoisie is robbing the workers more and more by deductions from their wages. In the Soviet Union the working day has been reduced to seven hours, and to six hours for miners, whereas in capitalist countries the length of the working day is increasing, while the workers are being speeded-up more and more.

Our countryside is not becoming impoverished. Our peasants are not experiencing an agrarian crisis. They do not gaze sorrowfully at the boundary marks of their fields which set the limits to their strivings for a prosperous human existence; they suffer neither from a lack of land nor from a shortage of draft animals, implements and seeds. Last spring and this summer the Soviet farms and collective farms received 21,000 harvester combines and nearly 100,000 tractors. Our peasants are not in the clutches

of the usurers and the banks, for the State has invested billions of rubles for the purpose of raising agriculture. Our peasants are making rapid strides towards a prosperous life. Already in 1933 the gross collection of grain crops per head of the collective farm population was 10 per cent. higher than that of the kulak farms in 1929. (*Applause.*) In the same year the average distribution of grain was 10.2 centners per collective farmer and member of his family compared with 6.2 centners in the private poor and middle farms, and 9.2 centners in the kulak farms in 1929. Our peasant holds his fate in his own hands, it is inseparably connected with the collective farm and rests on a firm mechanised basis.

Our municipal construction is making rapid progress, so also are our city improvement schemes. Working class slums, so characteristic of capitalist cities, are disappearing; large, roomy and well-lit houses are being built, old cities are being reconstructed and new cities seem to spring up out of the ground. The Ten-Year Plan for the Reconstruction of Moscow, recently adopted by our Party and our government, outlines a city of fabulous beauty that will deserve to be called the capital of the world.

The cultural level of the toilers is rising perceptibly. In the U.S.S.R. over 25,000,000 children attend elementary and middle schools, which employ 600,000 teachers. During the past six years the number of children attending middle school has increased tenfold. At the present time 1,300,000 students attend our universities and technical schools. The Second Five-Year Plan provides for an increase in the number of specialists from 2,700,000 to 4,000,000, and the number of agricultural experts is to be doubled. During the period of the Second Five-Year Plan 5,000,000 skilled workers are to be trained. In 1934 alone, 270,000 ordinary peasant boys and girls learned to drive tractors, and 19,000 learned to drive harvester combines. Up to 1933, 1,500,000 persons, workers and workers' children, had already been appointed to positions as factory managers, judges, public prosecutors, teachers, scientific workers, students in academies, etc.

Take our output of books, newspapers and magazines. The works of Lenin and Stalin, and our greatest proletarian writer, Maxim Gorky, are sold in tens of millions of copies. Comrade Dimitrov's report at this Congress has been published here in an edition of one million, and even this edition is not enough. (*Loud applause.*) Scientific works are published in editions of 50,000.

From 1928 to 1934 the total circulation of our newspapers rose from 8,800,000 to 38,500,000. And yet books and newspapers are the things we suffer the greatest shortage of, because the cultural requirements of our people are overgrowing and expanding.

The Soviet government has regenerated whole nationalities which were expiring under the yoke of capital; it has helped them to create their own written language, to stand on their own feet and to join the happy family of nations of the U.S.S.R. as equal members.

In his speech at the Twelfth Congress of our Party in 1923, Comrade Stalin said:

"The point is that the whole of the Orient regards our Union of Republics as an experimental field. Either we properly solve the national problem in practical application within the framework of our Union, either we here, within the framework of this Union establish really fraternal relations between the nationalities, real co-operation—and then the whole Orient will realise that in our federation it has a banner of liberation, that it has a vanguard in whose footsteps it should follow, and this will be the beginning of the collapse of world imperialism. Or we here, as the whole federation, make a mistake, undermine the confidence of the formerly oppressed nationalities in the proletariat of Russia, deprive the Union of Republics of that power of attraction which it has in the eyes of the Orient—and then imperialism will win, we shall lose." (*Applause.*)

To-day the whole world sees the rich crop on our "experimental field" to which Comrade Stalin referred. In the national republics and regions of the Soviet Union we observe an unprecedented rise of national economy and culture, national in form and socialist in content. In the Ukraine some of the greatest giants of our industry have been built, such as the tractor works and turbine works in Kharkov, the engineering works at Kramatorsk, the locomotive works at Lugansk, the industrial combine in Zaporozhye, etc. The total circulation of newspapers published in the Ukrainian language exceeds 6,000,000.

The Central Asiatic Republics have developed their own industry, and now have a proletariat numbering 300,000. Before the revolution 800 ploughs were employed in agriculture in Turkestan; now half a million ploughs and 15,000 tractors cultivate the fields in Central Asia. (*Applause.*) Seventy per cent. of the dekhan* farms in Central Asia are collectivised.

* Peasant.

Before the revolution an insignificant number of children attended elementary school in Turkestan, and these were mostly Russian children. In 1934, in Central Asia, 1,000,000 children attended 11,000 schools, where tuition is conducted in the native language. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) There, also, they have thirty-five higher educational establishments. Before the revolution only 0.7 per cent. of the population of Turkmenia was literate; to-day 70 per cent. of the population can read and write. (*Applause.*)

In the remote, scorching steppes of Central Asia a great historical event occurred which is causing profound excitement throughout the Orient, where more than half of the population of the world lives. In the Central-Asiatic Republics of the Soviet Union, where only recently the feudal-landlord slave system prevailed, the Socialist system is being created to-day.

We have roused to political and industrial life that enormous stratum of the population, the women. The peasant woman who formerly wept over her hopeless poverty, who wailed the song of her bitter fate, the fate of woman, who gave birth to her children amidst the corn in the scorching fields, is being transformed in the collective farm into an active and audacious participant in socialist construction.

The new collective farm rules guarantee her the right to maternity leave with pay at the rate of her average earnings in the collective farm. Women are elected to the posts of managers of collective farms, they are elected to the village Soviets, to the District Executive Committees and to the regional and all-Union governing bodies. During the last election 330,000 women were elected as members of village Soviets, 2,500 were elected chairmen of village Soviets, and 50,000 were elected to urban Soviets. And how many women have been awarded the Order of Lenin and the Order of the Red Flag of Labour? The government does all that is possible to give women wider opportunities to enter the arena of social and industrial life. For this purpose efforts are made to ease their responsibility as mothers: about eight million children in our country attend pre-school establishments.

Generally speaking, our children are surrounded with tender love, attention and care that the children in no capitalist country obtain. We have abolished the waifs and strays that we inherited from our bitter past. No children are left to the care of fate, because the State and society look after orphan children.

Is it possible to enumerate all our achievements? Huge volumes could not contain the full description of all that is being

done in our land of victorious Socialism. But great as these achievements are, they do not satisfy us. We do not measure our strivings by the standards of the pre-revolutionary Russian worker, or by the standards of the workers in capitalist countries. Neither of them can serve as a model for us, any more than the life of a convict can serve as a standard for one who has forced his way to liberty. We want all our workers and collective farmers to live still better, we want every single one of them to be prosperous; we want to have more meat and more fats, we want our village folk to be well clothed and shod, we do not want to see the straw-thatched huts to remind us of the old life of Russia; we want to win universal cleanliness, comfort and convenience for all, so that no man or woman shall ever be tired of living, and that everyone may feel the joy of life. (*Applause.*) It is along this path that we are steadily marching, overcoming all obstacles and difficulties. In a few years' time you will not recognise present-day Russia any more than you can recognise NEP Russia of the past in present-day Socialist Russia.

As a result of the construction of Socialism in our country, the State of the proletarian dictatorship has been strengthened to an enormous degree. To-day, no less than on the morrow of the October Revolution, we are the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat; but by means of the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. we are raising the power of our Soviet State to an unprecedented level. Our State is no longer what it was in the period of civil war, when, in the midst of sanguinary battles, we were compelled to fight for the creation and consolidation of the Soviet power. Our State to-day is the State of the most stable and firmest system, the socialist system, resting not on the economics of War Communism, but on the basis of the flourishing economics of victorious Socialism. (*Applause.*) It is not the state of the period when the historical question "who will win?" was being settled in the class struggle between Socialism and the capitalist elements, but a state in which Socialism has already achieved victory over the capitalist elements. It is not a state with a variety of social and economic systems, but a state in which the socialist system holds undivided sway, and in which the unity of interests of the workers and collective farmers is growing more and more.

As far back as 1918 Lenin said: "The Soviets are the higher form of democracy, more than that, they are the beginning of the socialist form of democracy." The historical decision of the Seventh Congress of Soviets—adopted on Comrade Stalin's

initiative—to introduce in our country equal suffrage and direct and secret ballot is a very important step in the direction of achieving that socialist democracy to which Lenin referred.

Why did we take this step?

First, because the proletarian dictatorship has become stronger, and, moreover, the further expansion of proletarian democracy will in its turn still further strengthen the proletarian dictatorship.

Secondly, because in our country the private ownership of the means of production has been superseded by the socialist ownership of the means of production; but the further extension of proletarian democracy will in its turn strengthen in the minds of the masses the consciousness that public property is inviolable and indestructible, and it will help to overcome the survivals of capitalism in economics and in the minds of men.

Thirdly, because social changes have taken place in our country which help our Soviet land to pass to classless socialist society. The extension of proletarian democracy in its turn will accelerate the construction of classless socialist society.

Huge masses of people in our country have now turned firmly and irrevocably to the side of Socialism.

Not hundreds of thousands of advanced proletarians, but over one hundred million socialist toilers are taking part in the creative work of building and developing a new life.

Following the peasants who have become collective farmers, yesterday's conservatively-minded elements among the academicians, scientists, specialists, actors and artists have come over to Socialism. Out of the ranks of the people arise leaders, organisers, engineers, technicians, inventors and an infinite number of brave heroes of labour and science, thousands of eager enthusiasts who have mastered the ice-bound Arctic, audacious stratanauts who challenge the cosmic heights, airmen heroes, explorers of the depths of the ocean, the bowels of the earth, and mountain peaks.

Into the work of building up socialist life is being drawn the new generation which was born on Soviet soil and moulded under Soviet conditions. This generation has no knowledge of capitalists and their agents, and of gendarmes; they knew no slavery, exploitation and oppression, they only know and recognise the interests, tasks and aims of Socialism. Like the older generations which passed through the school of revolution, this generation loves its country with passionate, filial love, loves it, not because it is enormous, not because its shores are washed by five seas and two oceans, not because it possesses inaccessible mountain ranges, wide fields, dense forests and wide rivers, not

because in the history of this country and of the people inhabiting it there occurred the battle of Kalka, the personalities of Dimitri Donskoy and of Ivan Kalita, the uniter of old Russ, but because the human strivings of this country are enormous, because our rivers, seas and oceans are Soviet, because our forests, valleys and mountains are Soviet, because in the past history of this country there was not only Ivan Kalita but also Stepan Razin, there were popular uprisings, the strike at the Morozov mills, the barricades of Presniya in Moscow, the age-long struggle against tsarism; they love it because Lenin and Stalin transformed this country from the gendarme of Europe into the great sentinel guarding the liberties of the people, the country which began the world proletarian revolution (*loud applause*); they love it because in the revolutionary war against the interventionists it displayed miracles of heroism.

They love their country because in the midst of capitalist barbarism it is the vehicle of Soviet humanitarianism, because this Soviet humanitarianism exceeds all that the bourgeoisie could perform in their most flourishing period. They love their country because it is a Socialist country, they love their multi-national people because it is the most revolutionary people in the world, because this country and its people are the bulwark of the emancipation of the whole of toiling humanity. (*Applause.*)

The more quickly the rise and development of socialist construction proceeds, the larger the masses that are drawn into the work of construction, the more acutely necessary does it become to apply new, more flexible and varied forms of ensuring that large masses actually take part in the administration of the State in improving the work of the organs of State, in eradicating from them the bureaucratic legacy of the past and in exercising universal control and accounting. Consequently, the need arises for the extension of proletarian democracy.

But the further extension of proletarian democracy becomes, in its turn, an instrument for drawing new strata of the population into the work of socialist construction, an instrument for the socialist re-education of the people, for remoulding the human mind and for eradicating from it all survivals of capitalism. Proletarian democracy develops the initiative and independent activity of the masses, stimulates in them a desire to watch and control the elected bodies, raises their sense of responsibility for the work of socialist construction, teaches them to manage large socialist enterprises and to administer a huge state; it trains them to adopt the socialist attitude towards work. The development of

proletarian democracy increases the significance of the public opinion of the toilers, this mighty instrument by means of which socialist social environment influences the backward, passive, individualistically-minded members of society. Under the influence of the socialist environment in which everything breathes enthusiasm and the fervour of labour, the Soviet man develops a new world outlook, a new attitude towards society, towards socialist property. This atmosphere of labour even infects former criminals. The White Sea-Baltic Canal is not merely a canal navigated by Soviet ships; it is a canal through which thousands of men and women have passed from civic death to civic regeneration. (Applause.) But with the increase in the number of socialist builders, with the further expansion of the social basis of the state of the proletarian dictatorship, the power of defence of this state grows before the very eyes of its bitter enemies that surround it.

The Red Army, as the organ of defence of the proletarian state, reflected in its development the long road our Soviet country and our Soviet people have traversed. The time when our young and almost unarmed Soviet government was compelled to beat off the piratical invasion of fourteen capitalist states more with its enthusiasm and at the price of enormous sacrifice and suffering than with military technique, has gone for ever. To-day the enthusiasm of the revolutionary people is multiplied by the most advanced and powerful technique. Our Red Army is in the forefront in mastering, absorbing and reflecting, like a peculiar magic alloy, all our technical economic and social changes and our achievements in all branches of life and economy. And as the Land of Soviets proceeds along the road towards classless society, the Red Army also becomes more and more a socially homogeneous fighting organisation of all the nationalities inhabiting our Socialist Republics.

Not everyone as yet appreciates to what extent the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has affected the fighting capacity of the Red Army. As a result of the victory of socialist relationships, every toiler regards himself as complete master of the country in which the land, the gigantic factories, the Soviet farms and the instruments and means of production belong to the whole of society of which he is a member. The Red Army man-collective-farmer is not the peasant of the capitalist countries, down-trodden, groaning and hungry, often never seeing beyond his own hut and his own plot of land no bigger than a grave, he is not the mouzhik who, having heard that a gigantic comet will collide with

the earth and destroy the whole world calmly says: "Let it fall into the next village!" (Laughter.) It is not the peasant crushed by ages of slavery and ignorance with the world outlook as wretched and restricted as his own farm, which impels him to say: "I don't care what happens to anybody else as long as my hut and my dung-heap remain intact." No, the Red Army man is the armed representative and warrior of a great multi-national family and possesses one huge land, a huge enterprise stretching from one end of the country to the other, from frontier to frontier, and not from hedge to hedge. (Applause.) The Red Army man is a citizen of the Soviet Union, who sees his greatest interests, his plans for a better, richer and more joyous life through the prism of the great interests and the wide horizon of his own great land, of the great enterprise of the whole Union. (Applause.)

The Red Army, which comes from the people, serves the people and defends their interests, is surrounded with the care and love of the masses of the people and is inspired with the great aims of serving toiling humanity; and with dignity, honour and pride it guards our socialist fatherland, the fortress of the world proletarian revolution. (Applause.) Connected by inseparable bonds of fraternal solidarity with all the oppressed, with all the exploited, with all the peoples of the earth, it is the genuine vanguard of the growing movement of the peoples against imperialist wars.

Could all the processes which have taken place as a result of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. fail to affect our Party, which was the organiser of this victory? Our Party not only led the masses to these victories, it itself grew up, became hardened and politically consolidated and extended its ties with the masses in the process of socialist construction. The people of our country have grown up to become great organisers of socialist construction, statesmen of outstanding merit, talented leaders of the masses. They have still further developed that specific Bolshevik style of work which is the combination of American efficiency and the Russian revolutionary range of action. In knowledge of the work that is entrusted to them, our lower rank workers could teach a thing or two to the bourgeois minister of any country. (Applause.)

The concrete guidance of our Leninist Central Committee has ensured the growth of our cadres, the proper selection of all that is talented in the ranks of the working class. Severe self-criticism has prevented stagnation and complacency and has facilitated the further improvement of our Party, Soviet and

business leaders. No other government in the world has permitted or permits such free criticism of the state, party and business apparatus as has been and is permitted in our country.

At the same time, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, our Party has been trained during these years to display stern Bolshevik intolerance towards all sorts of deviations, towards attempts to bring into the Party the influence of alien and hostile classes and to divert it from the path of fighting for Socialism to the path of capitalist degeneration. In the past attempts were made to shake the unity of our Party by the Trotskyists, Zinovievists and the Right deviationists. To-day all the oppositions are utterly routed. The Zinoviev-Trotskyist *bloc* has degenerated into a wretched band of fascist terrorists, the counter-revolutionary nature of which is now clear to millions of toilers. The genuine face of the Right-kulak deviation is now exposed to the masses.

To-day, not only the toilers of our country but the toilers of the whole world can test by the experience of the victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. the correctness of the general line of our Party which is being carried out by the Stalinist leadership of the C.P.S.U. This general line is not only the line of our Party, it is the general line of development of our whole country; it has become the flesh and blood of the overwhelming majority of our people. The masses of the people are being trained by it, the workers and collective farmers of our country are competing with each other in carrying it out, it has become the object of Soviet patriotism, in the minds of our people it is inseparable from our great socialist fatherland. (*Applause.*)

To-day Bolshevism is not only a trend in political thought, it is a mighty, popular movement. It has extended beyond the limits of the Party, it is becoming the world outlook of the broad masses of our country. Although these masses do not possess Party membership cards, they think the thoughts of our Party, they speak in the language of Bolshevism and their desire is to act like Bolsheviks. Our Party is more and more gaining around itself a stratum of non-Party Bolsheviks to whom Comrade Stalin referred in his last speech. Who are these non-Party Bolsheviks? Mechanics, turners, steel-smelters, dairy maids, pig-keepers, the cattle tenders of our collective farms, the shock brigade workers of our fields, collective farm brigade leaders, tractor drivers, harvester combine drivers, engineers, business managers, scientists, airmen, engine drivers, parachutists, Michurinists, Chelyuskinists, the Voroshilov crack riflemen, our best runners,

swimmers, athletes, men and women who are imbued with the desire to be the best in all things and to make our country the best in the world. (*Applause.*) They have been trained by our Party and the Leninist Young Communist League, everyone of them possesses a particle of those qualities which constitute the distinguishing features of Bolshevism. They have grown up in the epoch when heroism is acquiring a mass character and is becoming a common occurrence. Their heroic deeds join them with Bolshevism. Our Party is becoming nearer and dearer to the masses of the people than ever before, and the masses have no need of the mystical religions of the capitalist countries, or of the multiple party system of pseudo-parliamentary democracy. The reserves of the people are drawing nearer than ever before to the vanguard of the working class. This living interaction between the Party and the people exists in no other country of the world, there is not, has not been and there never will be such interaction between the people and the bourgeois parties, which either represent a system of rival clans under bourgeois democracy or a party of the barrack-room under the fascist dictatorship.

At the same time, the development of proletarian democracy, the political and cultural growth of the toilers and the fact that enormous strata of the people are coming under the influence of our Party imposes greater obligations upon the Communists as leaders and organisers of the masses. The masses are no longer what they were a few years ago. Mere agitation for the general line of the Party is not enough. Length of Party membership and revolutionary services, honourable things though they may be, are not enough in themselves for masses which are agitating for Socialism by their deeds in socialist construction. To-day, hundreds of thousands of non-Party Bolsheviks have a record of socialist service behind them, have their standing as shock brigade workers of socialist society. In order to enjoy prestige among these masses of non-Party Bolsheviks the Communists must give greater evidence of their loyalty to the cause of Socialism, must be able to show a higher ideological and political level and degree of knowledge of the technique of the work entrusted to them. But this cannot be achieved unless the Party organisations raise the quality of their Party work to a still higher level, unless they still further stimulate Party life and unless they raise Party educational work to greater heights. The extension of proletarian democracy strikes a severe blow at the Communists' isolation from the masses, against bureaucracy, and against the arrogance of the high official; and it compels all our Party organisations to still

further improve their system of leading the masses. Our masses are not merely masses that have to be won over to the side of the proletarian revolution, they are masses of builders of classless socialist society. And building classless socialist society does not mean merely liquidating classes, it also means overcoming the survivals of capitalism in economics and in the minds of men. A Communist cannot fight among the masses to overcome these survivals unless he by his own example of political and social life as well as in his personal life, in his conduct towards all those who surround him shows that he himself has overcome these survivals, or is overcoming them. Hence the unyielding sternness of our Party towards all its members in regard to their moral and political character. It does not demand the senseless Christian asceticism of a Savonarola, but the fight for the socialist man, freed from the evil heritage of capitalist society. This socialist re-education of men and women—to the service of which are placed our schools, our press, our art and the whole of our state apparatus—is inseparably bound up with the task of inculcating into the minds of our people the duties of international proletarian solidarity. Our Party and the toilers of the Land of Soviets have always placed their obligations to the world proletariat above everything else, and this is the case, particularly to-day, when the world is approaching the second round of revolutions and wars, when the question, "who will win?" is being presented with unprecedented sharpness in the international arena.

But the existence of remnants of the defeated class enemy, the survivals of capitalism in economics and in the minds of men, and our capitalist encirclement, imperatively demand that the Communists display constant class vigilance, the more so that the fact that enormous masses of people are turning to the side of Socialism may create the illusion that the class war has come to an end for ever, that the defeated class enemy will quietly submit, and that our Party is insured against any further deviations in the future. Comrade Stalin has repeatedly warned our Party that the growth of the power of the Soviet state will call forth the resistance of the dying classes, and that precisely because they are dying, are living their last days, they will clutch desperately at the most extreme means of struggle.

No power on earth can break the Bolshevik Party, no difficulties can shake the unity of our ranks, the monolithic character of which is assured not only by the correctness of its general line but also by the increasing homogeneity of the social composition of the country and the establishment of the unity of interests of

the overwhelming majority of the population of all the Soviet Republics.

Such are the results of the struggle for Socialism in the Land of Soviets, which are exercising enormous influence upon the whole of international life, and which have opened a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution.

III. THE NEW STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has opened a new stage in the development of the world proletarian revolution by accelerating the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the toiling masses, by calling forth a powerful movement towards Socialism in all capitalist countries. It causes the nations to look to the U.S.S.R. as the bulwark of peace and the freedom of nations, as a bulwark against fascism and imperialist war. This change is not taking place at a dizzy speed, it does not imply that the masses are at one stroke coming over to the position of the revolutionary struggle for the proletarian dictatorship, it is not proceeding smoothly everywhere, it encounters the resistance of counteracting forces; but it is proceeding and receives a fresh impetus as a result of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

This change is developing in the midst of the deepening and further intensification of the antagonisms between the world of capitalism and the world of socialism, in the midst of a fierce class struggle in separate countries as well as in the international arena; this development has been retarded in every way by Social-Democracy, which still occupies fairly strong positions among the broad masses. At the same time, this change is taking place amidst a growing fascist movement, with the aid of which the bourgeoisie is trying to place obstacles in the path of development of the revolutionary upsurge.

Lenin said :

"Ten to twenty years of proper relations with the peasantry, and victory on a world scale is ensured (even if the proletarian revolutions—which are growing—are delayed), otherwise twenty to forty years of the torture of whiteguard terror."*

Explaining Lenin's words, Comrade Stalin at the Seventh Plenum of the E.C.C.I. in December, 1926, asked :

"And what does victory 'on a world scale' mean? Does it mean that such a victory is equivalent to the victory of

* Lenin : *Miscellany*, Vol. IV. Russian edition, p. 374.

Socialism in a single country? No, it does not mean that. Lenin draws a strict distinction in his works between the victory of Socialism in a single country and victory 'on a world scale.' By victory 'on a world scale' Lenin meant to say that the successes of Socialism in our country, the victory of socialist construction in our country, is of such enormous international importance that it (the victory) cannot confine itself to our country but must call forth a powerful movement towards Socialism in all capitalist countries; and although it does not coincide with the victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries, at all events, it must be the starting point of a powerful movement of the proletarians of other countries towards the victory of the world revolution."†

To-day the prophetic words of Lenin and Stalin are coming true. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a victory of world-wide significance. It has not yet led to the overthrow of capitalism all over the world; but the powerful movement towards Socialism in all capitalist countries has and will assume wider and wider proportions as the contrast between the prosperous socialist world, with its extended proletarian democracy and the doomed capitalist world, with its torture of whiteguard fascist terror, becomes more and more pronounced. Mankind has reached that historical borderline where no amount of growing reaction can prevent the turn of the masses of the people towards Socialism. This great change in the minds of the toilers of the whole world is not yet completely developed.

This new epoch in the development of the world proletarian revolution is not yet appreciated even by the best people—by Communists, whose minds are overwhelmed by the "torture of whiteguard terror" and the scale by which they in the past measured the significance of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. We are witnessing only the beginning of this great change in the life of mankind. Nevertheless, to-day, millions of people are already abandoning the century-old convictions and conceptions of the eternity and indestructibility of the capitalist system. Enormous masses of people are beginning to doubt the wisdom and expediency of a social system based on the division of men and women into rich and poor, into idlers and pariahs of labour, into slaveowners and slaves. The prestige of the ruling classes, of their states, of their power, of their church, which blesses the capitalist system, of their science, which justifies it, and of bourgeois culture, which is in their service, is breaking down.

† Stalin: "Once Again on the Social-Democratic Deviation."

The masses of the people were told that Socialism means universal degradation. With their own eyes they now see that Socialism means the revival, the blossoming forth, the regeneration of the masses of the people.

They were told that Socialism means the dividing up of property, the nationalisation of women, crude materialism which crushes all individuality, the loss of personal liberty and living in public barracks. They now see that Socialism means collective property which overcomes selfish, brutal avarice, that it means genuine social equality for women, the great cult of motherhood, the birth of a new, heroic man who is ready to perform super-human exploits for the emancipation of the toilers; they see that Socialism means liberty guaranteed by the system without the enslavement of man by man, that it means the abolition of barrack-room standardisation, and that it gives tremendous scope for the creativeness of the masses determined by the growth of each individual.

And the masses read the magnificent story about the new, rational and just social system, not from books, not from the pages of Thomas More and Saint Simon, who depicted a remote ideal of a reconstructed human society, but in the life and struggles of a people one hundred and seventy million strong, a people which has shown the whole world the system it has built in actual being, built amidst sufferings and difficulties and joyous victories, a system bearing the scars of the ulcers of its past, with the strong socialist muscles of its present, and the inexhaustible strength of its future.

By its work of creation, the result of which can be touched with the hands, seen with the eyes, grasped by the mind, this people has shown that Socialism ensures the mighty development of the productive forces at a time when in the capitalist world they are decaying and being destroyed. It has shown that socialist economy knows no crises of overproduction, that the scourge of unemployment does not under Socialism doom the best and industrious section of the people to severe misfortune, that want, starvation and death do not haunt the working class districts, do not exterminate a generation of workers without powder and smoke, that the U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world in which the full right to bread and work exists for the whole population.

And the people who are still bearing the burden of capitalism with its crises and unemployment, are beginning to move in the way Comrade Stalin said. For them Socialism is not merely some

magically invented doctrine, not a doctrine that has still to be tested by experience; it already exists on an enormous territory stretching from Berezina to Vladivostok, it is already part of the lives of one hundred and seventy million people, it is the living experience of a country which is, as it were, a gigantic laboratory for the building of a new socialist society. Socialism is a vital necessity for all people; it is their only hope amidst an ocean of desperate poverty, it is their anchor of salvation in a world which, like a ship which has sprung a leak, is going to the bottom.

But this people, one hundred and seventy million strong, who formerly wore bast shoes, rag gaskins and drab home-spun cloth, who ate duck weed and acorns in the hungry years of the tsarist regime, who were doomed to live in filth and stench in their wretched hovels, lit by dim rush lights, are now solving a problem of Socialism not less important than the development of productive forces, *viz.*, of raising their standard of living to a height that is inaccessible in any capitalist country in the world. Unlike capitalism, Socialism did not have centuries in which to solve this problem. It did not possess billions in gold, nor the age-long experience of the capitalist states; but what the Soviet government has done for the masses in the course of a few years cannot be compared with anything in history.

Let us agree that it has not yet entirely solved this problem. Had it done so the world would have looked entirely different to-day, the cause of capitalism would have been utterly lost, the cause of the world proletarian revolution would be moving forward with gigantic strides. But the new stage in the development of our socialist country expressed by Stalin's slogan about care for human beings is evidence that this problem will be solved within the next few years.

Already the ruling classes are beginning to lose the helm of government over the masses of the toilers who are being set in motion, not by half a score of alleged agents of the Comintern, but by the Socialist successes of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., who are steadily creating socialist well-being by the hands of the toilers for the benefit of all toilers. And the masses of the workers throughout the world are beginning to move.

Capitalism can no longer ensure them, and will never ensure them, the pre-war standard of living. Even if the bourgeoisie does succeed in extricating itself from the clutches of the crisis and depression for a time, it cannot restore to the workers even the standard of living they had before the crisis of 1929. The

European working class is not rising to the level of the American worker, as the reformists foretold; the American worker is sinking to the level of the majority of the European workers, as the Bolsheviks foresaw. The colonial workers are not becoming "decolonised" and are not catching up to the wages of the European white worker; the white European worker is sinking more and more to the level of the colonial coolie.

In a number of capitalist countries European workers are already being treated as if they were the inhabitants of a conquered colony. The fascist governments are depriving them of all the gains they won as a result of decades of class struggle, they are dissolving the workers' organisations, are suppressing the workers' press, are killing the active workers in the labour movement, are establishing in the factories the unrestricted power of the employers, are imposing tribute upon the workers in the form of so-called "voluntary" contributions which are deducted from their miserable wages, they organise forced labour camps for the workers, they insult their class-consciousness and degrade their human dignity by attempting to inculcate into the minds of the masses of the workers the barbarous, chauvinist ideology of hounds foaming at the mouth with rage against other nations.

But fascism is not only internal war against the working class, it is also external imperialist war.

The working class realises that the bourgeoisie is dragging it into military catastrophe of a force and dimension unprecedented in the history of war. Socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the one side, and the capitalist offensive, fascism and war in the capitalist countries on the other side—this is what is now revolutionising the world working class.

And the working class is more and more turning its gaze to the land of Socialism, for in it it sees the great material force which is standing across the path of tyrannical capital, of raging world reaction and of the outbreak of new imperialist wars. (*Applause.*) The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is setting in motion broad masses of the peasantry who are suffering from the severe agrarian crisis. The ruin of millions of peasants is being accelerated by the very nature of small peasant property which cannot employ complicated machinery and therefore makes peasant labour unprofitable. But the peasants in capitalist countries see the Land of Soviets, where the amalgamation of private peasant farms into collective farms permits of the mechanisation of agriculture, abolishes the contradiction between the low technique

of agriculture and the high technique of industry and raises the value of peasant labour.

They see that the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class has led to the abolition of exploitation in the countryside, that by collectivisation it has completely eradicated every possibility of differentiation of the countryside and has created the conditions for the prosperous existence of the collective farm masses. The future successes of collectivisation in the U.S.S.R. will more and more break down the anti-socialist prejudices of the peasants in the capitalist countries.

The peasants have learned from their own wearying toil that private property is like the convict's chain which fastens the convict to his wheelbarrow. They are frightened by the first difficulties that accompanied the Socialist reorganisation of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. But it is the difficulties of their own form of farming that are growing more and more: indebtedness to the banks and usurers, bondage to the produce merchants, the low prices prevailing on the market and the high rents that are strangling them. They would not believe in the possibility of collective labour and thought that it would mean the reign of universal idleness. But what do they get out of their hard labour except want, sorrow and calloused hands?

They thought that Socialism in agriculture would lead to universal poverty. But capitalism has robbed them of all they had and sent millions of peasant families begging on the road. They thought that fascism was protecting their interests when it proclaimed the right of their oldest sons to inherit their property. But what are their other dispossessed children to do in view of the mass unemployment in the cities? The collective farm system in the Land of Soviets daily shows the peasants in capitalist countries the advantage of collective farming which has now overcome the difficulties of the period of reconstruction. Stalin's new collective farm rules, drawn up on the basis of a combination of the stimulus of public interest with that of private interest, has called forth a fresh wave of labour enthusiasm in the collective farms. Day after day collective farming is revealing to the masses of the peasants of the whole world a life of prosperity and growth of culture in the countryside.

There is also a movement among the urban petty bourgeoisie whose hopes fascism cruelly dashed to the ground from the moment it came into power. How many large department stores have been closed in Germany since the fascists came into power?

Did the stock-exchange speculators, bankers and usurers lose a single hair of their heads; or was it the storm troopers who demanded a new "revolution" against the thieving bankers and stock-exchange sharks who lost their hair when they lost their heads? How much of the small traders' debts has been annulled by the fascist government? Or has that government given relief only to the trusts and banks? How many taxes have been reduced for the small urban artisans and tradesmen? Or have they been reduced only for millionaires? How many children of the humble burgher have won for themselves a proper place in the state apparatus of the "Third Empire"? Or has the golden youth of the Prussian Junkers squeezed out the deceived storm troopers?

But Socialism has actually abolished the bankers and the speculators, has made a real revolution against capital, has really ensured a worthy human existence for the former small artisan and tradesman by bringing him into the great process of socialist construction; it has really given his children the opportunity of studying in the workers' and peasants' universities, thus opening up for them a bright, socialist future.

The best section of the intelligentsia who see that Socialism alone has no overproduction of scientists, engineers, technicians, writers, artists and actors, are also turning towards Socialism. They see that only under Socialism does talent, ability and industry, and not the power of money and the support of influential people, open the road for young talent. They see that the socialist system alone ensures the flourishing growth of a new socialist culture, gives a mighty impulse to and opens wide prospects for creative effort. They see that Socialism alone rouses the latent forces of the people and starts the springs of genuine people's creativeness. And these, the best people, who have despaired of the world of pot-bellied, philistine, fascist obscurantism, are fleeing from the stake where human thought is burned, are fleeing from the fascist axes which cut off disobedient heads, are fleeing from the blood-streaked spittle with which degenerate gangs defile human culture, are fleeing from all this to the land where they prize not only politicians and organisers of the working class, but also Voltaire, Einstein, Rolland, Barbusse and Gorky. (*Applause.*)

And the big and small peoples are beginning to move because before their very eyes the U.S.S.R. is consolidating its economic system not by conquering foreign markets—for which a furious

struggle is going on in the capitalist world—but by raising the well-being of the masses of its own people; not by sanguinary wars such as capitalism waged, marching to triumph over the bones of nations, but by fraternal co-operation between the one hundred and fifty nationalities that inhabit the U.S.S.R. in the work of building Socialism; not by plundering other countries by imposing monstrous indemnities upon them, but by rendering enormous material assistance to the former colonies of the tsar which are regenerating their national economy on a socialist basis; not by enslaving colonies, without which modern capitalism cannot exist, but by the socialist industrialisation of the economically backward peoples which are now becoming advanced national republics; not by enslaving loans as a result of which the country is surrendered to the foreign capitalists to be plundered, but by the forces and means of the people themselves who alone are masters of their historic destiny.

And what is the fate of the people in the capitalist countries? What have they got out of the conquest of foreign markets, out of wars of conquest, and the loans obtained on usurious terms? Have they enriched the people, or have they enriched a handful of magnates of capital? Have they removed the rags and tatters of poverty from them, have they given work to the millions of unemployed who have been forced out of industry for ever, have they improved the material conditions of the masses?

America is the richest country in the world. It has all the conditions for a self-contained economy: the natural wealth of the country, an enormous territory, its own highly-developed agriculture, capable of feeding two such countries as America, a powerful industrial apparatus which if worked to full capacity could raise the national income to 300,000,000,000 dollars per annum. Only a few years ago the American people believed Hoover when he said that America was the land of "eternal prosperity," that the capitalist system of America was superior to the socialist system in the U.S.S.R., that America was the land of the highest wages and of the highest standard of living in the world. But what does America look like to-day?

Ten million unemployed, reductions of wages, hundreds of thousands of farms wrecked, the "middle class" ruined, an enormous increase in the lumpen proletarian population of the towns, the growth of armed robbery by the so-called "gangsters," the bankruptcy of the N.R.A.—such is the picture of America to-day. The fact that America more than any other country be-

came rich on war orders during the world imperialist war and the fact that at Versailles she dictated her will to both the victor and vanquished states, did not help her in the least; nor did her imperialist penetration into the lands of Latin America, nor her open-door policy in China.

The American people to-day are asking themselves in alarm what is to be done with the enormous army of unemployed, with the overgrown apparatus of production, to the development of which capitalism sets a limit. They have learned from their own experience the truth of Marx's law that the rate of profit serves as shackles which hinder the development of the productive forces of capitalist America. From the experience of the U.S.S.R. they see that the growth of public consumption due to the enormous leap forward of the material and spiritual culture of the socialist man, provides unlimited possibilities for the development of production. From the experience of America they learn that capitalism is anarchy in production which, within the framework of capitalist relationship, cannot be subjected to any system of N.R.A. planning.

But the U.S.S.R. shows them a living type of planned socialist economy, secure against the crisis of overproduction, in which the master, the proletariat, reorganises the various branches of production, mechanises human labour with the object of still further reducing labour time. The mechanisation of agriculture gives a mighty impetus to the further development of the productive forces, and by steadily raising the material and cultural level of the masses it expands to an unlimited degree the capacity of home consumption. (*Applause.*)

There is another rich country—*France*. The French people were the "victors" in the greatest war that ever occurred in history. The peoples of our country were vanquished in that war. As a result of its victory, France redrew the map of Europe in the way she desired. An attempt was made to alter the geography of our country to suit France and her Allies. France imposed Versailles upon Germany, while German imperialism imposed upon us a not less predatory peace, namely Brest. After the war France enjoyed hegemony in Europe, and in conjunction with her Allies, dictated her will to the peoples inhabiting it. Our country was isolated from the whole of the capitalist world and surrounded by a barbed wire entanglement of hatred.

But the people of those states who regard themselves as victors are now asking themselves in alarm what they have got out of the

victory in the imperialist war. Have the indemnities which Entente Imperialism imposed upon several generations of the German people in any way benefited the masses of the people of those countries? Does the gold reserve accumulated in the vaults of the national banks of those countries serve as a guarantee against budget deficits? The victory of Entente arms resulted in Versailles; Versailles gave the German people fascism; German fascism is giving the French people feverish preparations for war, which, as on the eve of August, 1914, once again threatens both the French and the German people. And formerly backward Russia, the object of imperialist designs, a country beaten in the imperialist war, exhausted by civil war, the land which suffered the Brest peace, took the path of Socialism and became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a mighty land of victorious Socialism. (*Applause.*)

And it achieved this victory not only because it took a different path from that taken by France, but also because it took a different path from that taken by Germany. It reached the annulment of Brest by the road of proletarian revolution and Socialism, whereas the German people smashed Versailles by taking the paths of bourgeois counter-revolution and fascism. Fascism has been torturing the German people for three years. But what has it given it in compensation for its lost bourgeois-democracy? The cessation of reparation payments? But it was the government of the Weimar Republic that stopped paying reparations. No German government could pay these reparations under the conditions of severe crisis. Was it the victory of the Saar plebiscite? But the government of the Weimar Republic would have received a larger number of votes in favour of joining the Saar with Germany than fascism obtained. Did fascism restore conscription? Yes, but the German people will have to pay for this "bloodless" victory with their blood. Feverish chauvinism and the outburst of bellicose ecstasy cultivated by fascism are not leading the people to happiness. The German people have already had to pay for this sort of thing in the form of the disaster of 1918 and Versailles.

Has fascism given firm, bourgeois order? But June 30 revealed bloody chaos in the fascist regime. Not a single dying system has ever managed to save itself from doom by means of terror. Has fascism given emancipation from slavery to the usurers? Who in Germany to-day believed this demagogic point in the fascist programme? Has it abolished the class struggle? But what do the

brutal torture of the German people, the concentration camps, the dying groans of the front-rank fighters of the working class of Germany, the ruthless daily executions indicate if not the fear of the bourgeoisie and the inherent weakness of the fascist system? Has it increased industrial output? But it has dropped to 87 per cent. of that of 1928, whereas that of the U.S.S.R. has trebled. Has it increased the national income? But it has dropped 60 per cent., whereas that of the U.S.S.R. increased more than twofold. Such are the results of the liquidation of Versailles by fascist methods. Such is the unvarnished truth about the "victories" of the "Third Empire."

The Italian people have similar results to show after thirteen years of fascist dictatorship. A steady decline in wages, increased unemployment, ruin of the peasantry, impoverishment of the whole Italian people, reduction of the standard of living during the past thirteen years by 40 per cent., bringing it only above that of Portugal, which is at the bottom of the list among the half-starved peoples of Europe, a feverish race for armaments, colonial aggression crowned by the Abyssinian adventure.

The results are no better in Japan. During the last half century Japan rapidly became industrialised on capitalist lines. She created a modern industrial apparatus while preserving feudal relations. But what has this industrialisation given the Japanese people? Japanese industry literally grew up on the bones of the Japanese workers and Japanese peasants.

Nowhere in the world is there such monstrous exploitation as in Japan. The wages of a Japanese worker are only half of those of the lowest paid workers in Europe. Japanese working girls and peasant girls are sold like slaves on the market into eternal bondage to the capitalists and as white slaves to brothel keepers. The Japanese peasants, who have to bear this modernised industrial apparatus on their backs, are, together with their families, together with their whole generation, caught in a web of debt and taxes as a fly is caught in a spider's web. Year after year the Japanese people are being ruined more and more. Feudal capitalist exploitation hinders the development of the home market. Hence Japanese capitalism is furiously seeking foreign markets and for this purpose resorts to the notorious dumping and to territorial conquest.

The Japanese imperialists justify these conquests on the ground that the Japanese islands are congested and therefore Japan must

seek new territory in Asia. But the Japanese workers and peasants have not obtained more room to live in by the fact that the Japanese army has occupied Manchuria. This occupation has only caused more congestion for the population of Manchuria. The Japanese imperialists declare that it is their sacred mission to protect the rights of the yellow race in Asia against the white race. Is that why they are oppressing the yellow race in Korea and Formosa, and are waging a predatory war against the people of the same race—the great Chinese people? The Japanese imperialists assert that in order to uphold the prosperity and greatness of the Japanese nation victorious wars against other peoples and the expansion of Japan at the expense of these peoples are necessary.

But during the past half century Japanese arms have not known defeat because they have only been used against weak enemies. Nevertheless, they have not achieved prosperity for the Japanese toiling masses. The Japanese imperialists assert that it is possible to emerge from the economic crisis, and to put an end to the misfortunes of the people caused by it, by means of war. But Japan has taken the path of war, nevertheless, the misfortunes of the Japanese people have not diminished, on the contrary, they have increased since the Japanese imperialists have been plundering China.

The war inflation boom may have increased the dividends of the Mitsui and Mitsubishi trusts, but the poverty and ruin of the Japanese toiling masses have not diminished as a result of this; on the contrary, they have increased. What have the Japanese people gained from the conquest of alien territory, from the subjection of other people except an excessively inflated police apparatus, which is suppressing, not only Koreans and Chinese, but even the Japanese workers and peasants? What did the Japanese people gain from the fact that the tsarist fleet was sunk at Tsushima and that the Russian army was routed at Port Arthur? The strengthened positions of Japanese militarism—an added burden of militarism which still further worsened the position of the toiling masses of Japan, still further contracted the internal market and pushed Japan into fresh military adventures.

But as the result of the defeat of the imperialist policy of tsarism, the beaten peoples of old tsarist Russia, by the Revolution of 1905, delivered a shattering blow to tsarist absolutism, to the ruling classes of old Russia, from which they never recovered, and by that they paved the way for the great October victory of

1917 over Russian capitalism. The result is that to-day, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, there borders on Japan, not old tsarist Russia with its decayed political regime, not the Russia of Tsushima and Port Arthur, but the U.S.S.R., the Land of Soviets, a Socialist land, a mighty land against which Japanese imperialism will smash its skull if it dares attack her. It will have another Tsushima, but this time a Tsushima for the feudal-capitalist system of its own country. (*Applause.*)

The ruling classes of *Great Britain* rule one-third of the globe. Four oceans—the Atlantic, the Pacific, the Arctic and Indian Oceans wash the shores of their possessions. Five hundred million human beings are directly subjected to them. A powerful navy guards the shores of their subject overseas territories and peoples. Britain rules the waves. She holds the key to straits and sea routes. British capitalism is the oldest in the world, and dates back nearly four hundred years. The British bourgeoisie did not have eighteen years, not seven years, as the Land of Soviets had, in which to raise the people they rule to prosperity or even to provide them with enough to eat. For decades they exploited colonies and squeezed enormous super-profits out of them. They crushed Germany, who tried to share world domination with them. They dominated the world markets. They waged victorious wars and imposed indemnities upon peoples. In short, they made extensive use of all those means so highly lauded by the bourgeoisie as the means for saving the peoples from poverty and disaster.

Has British industry worked better after the war since *Great Britain* robbed Germany of her markets? Have the goldfields of the Transvaal saved Britain from crises? Have the three million British unemployed obtained work by the fact that the British flag flies over the five continents of the globe? Are the five hundred million subjects of *Great Britain* living better to-day because *Great Britain* won the world imperialist war?

The laws of capitalism are inexorable, they are again driving the British people into the vicious circle of a still further worsening of the conditions of the masses, still further enslavement of the colonies, of a new series of imperialist wars, more monstrous than all the wars in history put together. And the hour is near when the masses of the British people will see in the Soviet Union the reflection of their morrow. No longer will they be haunted with the nightmare of the loss of colonies and the disintegration and doom of *Great Britain*, for there is a country which has risen from

the ashes of ruin without plundering other peoples, a land which is a fraternal alliance of peoples, who, by joint efforts, are developing their productive forces on socialist lines. And in the wonderful destiny of this country they will recognise other, non-capitalist laws, they will realise that Socialism needs no wars, no indemnities, no foreign markets and no colonies for the purpose of ensuring the prosperity and happiness of the people.

One and a half billion people now in bondage to imperialism will understand that neither British capital nor American missionaries, nor Japanese bayonets, nor the German fascist "civilisers" are required for economic regeneration, that this regeneration ensures their emancipation from the shackles of capitalist property and guarantees them the profits of their own labour, that only on socialist lines is it possible to achieve, not fictitious, but real independence and freedom of nations. That is why, comrades, the people are beginning to move—and this is what is frightening the world bourgeoisie, that is why from their ranks an unbreakable circle of admiring friends of the Soviet Union is being formed, that is why the bourgeoisie, threatened by these world significant changes, are resorting to fascism, and why the people they rule will retaliate to this more and more by resolutely going over to the side of Socialism.

With the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., on the threshold of the second round of revolutions and wars, a new political situation is created, a new relation of class forces is being brought about in the international arena which makes it incumbent upon the Communist Parties to take up a number of fundamental questions of the strategy and tactics of our struggle in a new way.

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. places in the hands of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries a powerful instrument with which to influence the broad toiling masses. "At present we exercise our influence on the international revolution mainly by means of our economic policy,"* said Lenin in the period when we had finished the war against the interventionists and had taken up economic construction.

To-day we exercise this influence, magnified many times by the victory of Socialism, which is more widely and deeply destroying the mass basis of capitalism. To-day this victory is smashing the

* Lenin: "Closing Speech at the All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P.," May 28, 1921, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXVI, Russian edition.

influence of the compromising policy of Social-Democracy upon the working class; it is increasing the power of attraction of Communism for the working class; it is undermining the mass base of fascism and is creating for the Communist Parties great opportunities for influencing those strata which up till now have been wavering between capitalism and Socialism.

Hence, our old methods of agitation and propaganda concerning the U.S.S.R. are no longer adequate; we must now appeal to wider strata of the toiling population and show them what their lot will be under Socialism, illustrating it with concrete examples of the experience of the U.S.S.R. We must make the defence of the U.S.S.R. the starting point for a broad, general people's front of classes, of organisations and of political parties which are beginning to render the U.S.S.R. active support. The Friends of the Soviet Union now has an extremely narrow base of intellectuals. The friends of the Soviet Union number millions and are not limited to the thousands who belong to the F.S.U. The old methods of action, which smack of pure propaganda, have also become obsolete. From the defence of the Soviet Union against anti-Soviet slander we must pass to the offensive against the enemies of the U.S.S.R., we must drag them before the judgment of the broad masses. In connection with the peace policy of the Soviet Union, its disarmament proposals, etc., the numerous friends of the U.S.S.R. should adopt forms of mass movement similar to the peace ballot that was conducted in Great Britain.

Secondly, the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the further successes of socialist construction make it necessary for the Communist Parties to adopt a more active policy towards the allies of the working class in its revolutionary struggle, such as the main masses of the peasantry, the ruined urban petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, etc. In their agitation among the peasants, the Communists must utilise the achievements of collectivisation in the U.S.S.R. and the vast improvement in the material and cultural level of the collective farmers in order to smash the campaign of lies waged by the bourgeois parties against Socialism, and to tear the peasants away from their influence.

In their agitation among the urban petty bourgeoisie the Communists must not only take NEP, which bore a temporary, transitional character, as their starting point, but should also explain the positive experience of the U.S.S.R., where all the elements who are honestly prepared to work for the benefit of the people are drawn into the work of socialist construction, and

where they and their children are ensured a secure present and a happy future under the socialist system. It is necessary to develop a movement among the intellectuals for the defence of culture against fascist barbarism and rally them around the U.S.S.R. as the beacon of the new socialist culture shining forth amidst the abomination of desolation of the capitalist world. The Communists must remember that the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. facilitates Communist agitation among these classes and strata and creates the opportunity not only of neutralising them, but of greatly extending the circle of those who may be won over entirely to the side of the proletariat.

Thirdly, the historical decisions of the Seventh Congress of Soviets on the further extension of proletarian democracy by the introduction of equal suffrage and direct and secret ballot, enrich the Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship with the concrete experience of its development after the victory of Socialism and the building up of classless socialist society. This is not only a great contribution to the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but also a powerful weapon that the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries may wield in their struggle against fascism. To-day, it is not sufficient merely to contrast the proletarian dictatorship with the bourgeois dictatorship in its fascist and bourgeois-democratic forms.

To-day, the Communists must come out as the sole champions of *genuine people's democracy*, of socialist democracy, guaranteed by equal suffrage and direct and secret ballot under the conditions of Socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will increase our influence among those Social-Democratic masses who up till now have been afraid of the proletarian dictatorship, who have stood on the side of bourgeois democracy, failing to see the dark, reactionary forces of the fascist dictatorship maturing under cover of bourgeois democracy. On the other hand, the further development of proletarian democracy in the U.S.S.R. will help the Communists to gain access to those strata of the toilers who, while despairing of bourgeois democracy, and not seeing the revolutionary path to the higher form of democracy, *i.e.*, Soviet democracy, fell victims to fascist demagoguery, which imposed upon them a regime of brutal violence and abolished all rights and liberties.

Fourthly, the role and significance of the U.S.S.R. increases as *the bulwark of the freedom of nations*. Pointing out to the people the living and graphic example of new, socialist democracy,

which is inseparably connected with the development of the proletarian dictatorship, contrasting this socialist democracy to the terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, into which corrupt bourgeois democracy is growing, the Communists must mobilise the masses of the people for the fight against all forms of bourgeois dictatorship, and primarily against fascism. At the same time, by the concrete experience of its own socialist democracy, the U.S.S.R. influences the mobilisation of the anti-fascist forces within the capitalist countries as well as in the international arena, and thus intensifies the antagonism between the fascist parties and the anti-fascist forces, between the "democratic" states and the fascist states.

Although this antagonism in the capitalist camp is of subsidiary importance compared with the fundamental division of the world into the world of Socialism and the world of capitalism, the proletariat cannot adopt a neutral attitude toward the struggle that is going on in the capitalist camp. Basing itself on the U.S.S.R. as the rallying centre of the anti-fascist forces of the whole world, as the decisive force in this international anti-fascist front, utilising the international antagonisms among the states with various political regimes, the working class must lead the concentration of the anti-fascist forces in each country and do everything to extend the anti-fascist front in the international arena. The Communists must pursue a still more active anti-fascist policy, bearing in mind that the growing intensification of the class struggle and the greater and greater concentration of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution may transform the anti-fascist movement into a bridge by which the masses can cross to the side of Socialism and the proletarian revolution.

Fifthly, the role of the U.S.S.R. is growing as *the bulwark of peace among nations*. The U.S.S.R. needs no foreign wars for the purpose of transforming the world. The people themselves will rise against their oppressors and do that. The U.S.S.R. needs no wars because in the competition between the two world systems it is the system of Socialism that is winning every day, for it shows the world its superiority over the capitalist system. If the world bourgeoisie left our country in peace for a decade it would be able by its socialist achievements to convince the vast masses of humanity all over the world of the superiority of its system and would transform even the most "peaceful" people who now serve as the bulwark of capitalism into revolutionaries opposed to capitalism.

But the capitalist world does not want to allow the socialist system to develop peacefully. It cannot exist without wars, and it is pulling the toilers, full steam ahead, into new wars. And in the face of the threatening danger of a new disaster, the peoples are turning their gaze towards the country whose mighty armed forces are still restraining the instigators of imperialist war. If the bourgeoisie carried out a really free plebiscite in their countries to ascertain what the people wanted—war or Socialism—they would learn the secret of the rapid growth of the influence of the U.S.S.R. among the peoples of the whole world.

The U.S.S.R. rallies and groups around itself all those who do not want war. These are not only the vast toiling masses of town and country, not only classes, their parties and organisations in the various countries, they are whole nations and states whose independence is threatened by war; these are even the bourgeois governments of important imperialist countries which to-day are not interested in war. What their motives may be is a matter of secondary importance at the present time.

Relying on the U.S.S.R., the proletariat must create within each country a broad, general people's front for the struggle against war and unite the broad masses of the people into a united front against the instigators of war. And this makes it necessary for the Communists to substitute for the old, amateurish methods of conducting isolated, short, anti-war campaigns, such a broad and co-ordinated struggle against war that would, on the basis of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., draw into its ranks all the anti-war forces on a national as well as on an international scale; a struggle that would combine within itself all the various forms of action: street demonstrations, speeches in Parliament, convening international conferences of workers' organisations, the creation of a close network of anti-war committees, etc. To-day, shooting from the old-fashioned shot-gun of small campaigns in defence of peace is quite inadequate when the Communists can use the tanks of the broad people's movements against the menace of imperialist war.

By popularising to the widest possible extent the Stalinist peace policy pursued by the U.S.S.R., which brilliantly shows how the predatory plans of the instigators of war may be thwarted, the Communists must abandon the fatalist view that it is impossible to prevent the outbreak of war, that it is useless fighting against war preparations—a view that arises from the hitherto extremely limited dimensions of the anti-war movement.

Sixthly, the significance of the U.S.S.R. has still further increased as the fortress of the world proletarian revolution and has thus greatly strengthened the position of the working class of the world in its struggle against capital. The weight of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. in the world revolutionary movement, the leading role of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., and the prestige of the C.P.S.U. among the toilers of the whole world have increased. The socialist victories of the U.S.S.R. are becoming a mighty lever in bringing the masses of the workers in the capitalist countries under the influence of the Communist Parties.

The home and foreign policies of the U.S.S.R. help the Communist Parties to gain access to those masses which hitherto have remained outside of Communist influence. Thanks to these policies the Comintern itself obtains a more concentrated striking direction. The struggle is no longer the "guerilla warfare" of separate units of the movement, now rushing forward and subjecting themselves to defeat, now lagging behind the general rate of advance and thereby subjecting others to defeat—it is now guided by international strategy and tactics which have been carefully weighed and strictly calculated, which take into account the sum total of forces in operation, and all chances of success or failure.

The weight of the U.S.S.R. has also grown in world economics and politics, and this increases the significance of the world labour movement and of its Communist vanguard. The vanguard of this movement is now emerging from the propaganda period of its development; it is becoming the most effective force in the great international policy of the working class and can set itself bolder and greater tasks than it has done hitherto. Relying on the U.S.S.R., this vanguard of the working class can more resolutely influence events and more often change their direction.

This in turn strengthens the position of the U.S.S.R. in its struggle for peace, for liberty and for Socialism. The U.S.S.R. is not the country it was seven years ago. The U.S.S.R. sets itself great tasks, commands enormous resources for the fulfilment of these tasks, and can achieve greater successes than it has hitherto. Our relations with the capitalist environment in the new stage that we are now entering are somewhat different from what they were seven years ago. We can now talk differently both to our enemies and to our friends. (*Applause.*) And the world proletariat realises the increased might of the Land of Soviets, and confidence in its own strength increases.

This confidence of the proletariat will grow as the material might of victorious Socialism grows. And this confidence itself will grow into an enormous material force which no capitalist fortress will be able to withstand. This solidarity, this unity and effective co-operation between victorious Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the toilers of the whole world fighting for their emancipation holds out the great prospect of the inevitable collapse of capitalism and the emancipation of mankind from the yoke of exploitation, reaction, fascism and predatory wars. Millions of people throughout the world are becoming more and more convinced that the cause of their emancipation and the successes of the land of victorious Socialism are inseparable from one another. They see and know that our socialist victory, our socialist factories, our collective farm fields, the whole of our might and all our gains, belong not only to the peoples of the U.S.S.R. but to the toilers of the whole world. (*Applause.*) We shall never forget what Comrade Stalin said:

"The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world working class. We have triumphed not only as a result of the efforts of the working class of the U.S.S.R. but also as a result of the support of the working class of the world. Without this support we would long ago have been torn to pieces."*

Our strength and our achievements belong not only to the peoples of the U.S.S.R., not only to the Communist vanguard, but to the working class of all countries—to the workers affiliated to the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions, to the workers who follow the lead of the parties affiliated to the Second International, to the unorganised workers and to the workers compelled to belong to the fascist organisations. Our socialist achievements belong to the toiling population of Chapei, to the Negroes of Liberia, to the Chinese, the Hindus, the Malayans; they belong to the toilers of the whole world, irrespective of nation and race, language and colour, to all those who are fighting exploitation and oppression. (*Applause.*) Millions of people are rallying more and more closely around the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the toilers of all countries, for they are beginning to understand that as in peace, so in war, the interest of strengthening the U.S.S.R., increasing its might, ensuring its victory on all sectors of the struggle, entirely coin-

* Stalin: "The Tasks of Business Managers." *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 366.

cide with the interests of all toilers in their struggle against the exploiters and speeds the triumph of the world proletarian revolution.

He who desires the victory of Socialism all over the world, he who desires fraternity and peace among the nations, he who desires to see an end of exploitation, fascism and imperialist oppression, cannot but be on the side of the U.S.S.R. Defence of the U.S.S.R., assisting it to achieve victory over all its enemies, should determine the activities of every revolutionary organisation, of every Communist, of every Socialist, of every honest democrat, of every non-party worker, of every peasant, of every urban toiler and of every intellectual. But this imposes a great obligation upon our Party, upon our working class, upon our nation of builders of Socialism towards the workers and toilers of the whole world. Comrade Stalin said:

"We must move forward so that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, might say: 'Here is my vanguard, here is my shock brigade, here is my working class state, here is my fatherland; they are promoting their cause which is our cause, well, let us support them against the capitalists and spread the cause of the world revolution.' " (*Applause.*)

And Comrade Stalin taught our Party, our workers and our country "to remain loyal to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians . . . "†

We know what remaining loyal to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism means when the bourgeoisie is hurling the toilers of the capitalist countries into the abyss of imperialist war and fascism. Our Party, under the leadership of its Leninist Central Committee, under the tried, firm and wise guidance of our great Stalin, has been loyal to this cause in fulfilling Lenin's command and working untiringly to transform NEP Russia into Socialist Russia. (*Applause.*) Comrades, this Socialist Russia now stands before you, before the workers of the whole world. (*Applause.*)

* Stalin: "The Tasks of Business Managers," *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 367.

† Stalin, concluding words in "Report on the Work of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U." in *Socialism Victorious*, p. 92.

Under Stalin's leadership our Party has been and is devotedly serving the cause of proletarian internationalism in setting itself the task of building Socialism in our country amidst a ring of capitalist enemies. This victory is apparent to-day. To-day, under Stalin's leadership, our Party is completing the edifice of socialist society; it has created a mighty base for the world proletarian revolution; it has not only preserved but has to an enormous degree increased the power of attraction of Socialism among the toilers in the capitalist countries. Under the leadership of our Leninist Central Committee, with Stalin at its head, our Party has been and is serving to the end the cause of proletarian internationalism in having strengthened and in now strengthening the power of defence of the Land of Soviets. (*Loud applause.*)

And if to-day the toilers of all countries are not standing unarmed before their class enemy, if to-day in their struggle for emancipation they look with hope to the state of the proletarian dictatorship, to the land of victorious Socialism, to the mighty bulwark of peace and freedom of the nations, to the U.S.S.R., this great achievement is the result of Stalin's policy of remaining loyal to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism. (*Applause.*)

And our Party, our people, our country, trained by Lenin and Stalin, are steadfastly loyal and will remain loyal to this cause of proletarian internationalism, no matter what trials history may subject us to. Every one of us will remain loyal to proletarian internationalism to our very last efforts, to our last breath, to our last drop of blood. (*Loud applause and cheers. All rise.*) That is why, comrades, the exploited and oppressed in all parts of the world regard our land of victorious socialism as their fatherland; that is why they regard our Party and our working class as the shock brigade of the world proletariat; that is why they regard our Stalin as the great, wise and beloved leader of the whole of toiling humanity. (*Loud applause.*)

Let the invincible cause of proletarian internationalism live and grow!

Long live the U.S.S.R., the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world! (Applause.)

Long live our Stalin! (Loud applause, rising to an ovation, loud cheers, cries of "Banzai!" "Rot Front!" "Long live the Soviet government!" "Long live Comrade Stalin!" The delegates sing the "Internationale" in their various languages.)